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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern
ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

Arrows.—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ha° p'aze'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'°sunte p'a''u°*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma° k'eteñk cake'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai° su'ra*, or *mai°so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma° p'a'°una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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224 [721] *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 158.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 224 614 484 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to include here a description* of these powers, although this really belongs in the section on Social Organization:

[686] Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocu'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*wa'xuxixiai*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

● 784 226 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262 685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *koni*, "to hunt"; and *hoicangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."